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documents which have been recorded. The chants and native poetry published by Thomson were transcribed and translated by Salmon, who also obtained the long list of kings which is given in the same paper.

During 1914-1915 Mrs. Routledge spent 16 months on the island and thoroughly studied its archaeology and ethnology. Unfortunately only the popular account (194) of this expedition and a monograph on Orongo (195) have been published. Routledge's survey seems to have been very detailed, and it is regrettable that her findings have not been made available.

Although France had certain rights on the island, she formally renounced them, and in 1888 the Chilean captain, Policarpo Toro, annexed the island for Chile. An unsuccessful attempt at colonization was made by Pedro Toro Hurtado, who took a group of Chileans to the island. Mr. H. Merlet of Valparaiso acquired from the representatives of Brander, Dutroux-Bornier, and Salmon the interests they held on Easter Island. The Chilean government leased the whole island with the exception of the village of Hanga-roa and the near-by lands which remained the property of the natives. The interests purchased by Merlet were sold to the Compania Explotadora de la Isla de Pascua (Williamson and Balfour Co.) who still own the land.

Every year the Chilean training ship *Baquedano* goes to Easter Island. The commander of the ship has a supervisory authority and settles all the conflicts which have arisen during the year. Unfortunately the *Baquedano* stops at the island for only a few days, and the various problems of the natives can receive but superficial treatment. The training ship carries to the island old clothes given by Chilean families. These are distributed among the natives, very often in exchange for curios.

The Williamson and Balfour Co. is the only real link the natives have with western civilization. It gives them work and the opportunity to buy the European articles and food they need. Of the 61 square miles, 7.72 square miles belong to the natives; the rest belongs to the company. At present the natives have more land than they need and cultivate only a part of it. When a young couple marries, the government gives them 10 hectares. Perhaps in the distant future, if the population continues to increase at the present rate, the islanders will need more land. With the exception of employees of the company, the natives are not allowed to cross the boundaries of the strip of land which is reserved for them. This measure, which may seem drastic, has been taken to prevent sheep stealing, which is carried on by natives as a kind of sport. Despite barbed wire, no week passes in which they fail to organize a raid on the sheep. Between two and three thousand animals disappeared thus in 1934.

A few natives are permanent employees of the company. They watch the gates which give access to the company's property, form night patrols, and do routine work on the farms. At shearing time most of the young men and women on the island gather at Vai-tea, the farm in the middle of the island,

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576 chief of Hotu-iti. Men had been posted at distances along the way followed by the missionaries. All had badges on their heads or on their arms. Each group received the guests with cheers and joined the retinue, marching behind the missionaries. Among this escort were two men who walked in front bearing two European swords. When they arrived where the chief was standing, the guests were received with the formula *Ka oho mai korua* (You come) and invited to sit on beautiful stones. A stone seat was given to the young king who had accompanied the missionaries.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

423 All information about property rights of ancient times is summarized in a few passages by Roussel (190, p. 429):

> In more recent times, property has been less respected; the land belonging to the first occupant. Formerly, every family owned the land that either hereditary, compulsory, or voluntary occupation put into its hands. Property was not valued because of the great expanse of uncultivated lands and the absence of purchasers. The dishonesty of the natives, their continual changing of residence, resulting from their constant wars, have created the most confusing and entangled situation in matter of property. So if you intend to buy land, you have—I do not want to say always, because there are exceptions—to buy the lands from all the individuals on the place in order not to cheat somebody. If you add to this entanglement the difficulty arising from the orphans who are very numerous, you will have an idea of the property system on Rapa-nui. [As on other Polynesian islands] the sea contiguous to an estate belonged to the owner of this estate. He was the only one who was authorized to fish, to look for squid and shellfish there. For his protection he placed a *rahui*.

[736]

[613] I could get scant information about ancient property rights. The ground belonging to a lineage was called *henua poreko ranga* (the land where the ancestors were born). Since 1866, when the entire population was concentrated at Hanga-roa on the west coast, the ties between lineages and land have been broken. Dutroux-Bornier, by unscrupulous tricks, bought from the natives most of their lands; through Brander, his rights passed to the Williamson-Balfour Company which now owns the island. I believe that the natives yielded their lands more readily because they had left them. However, they have remembered the portions of land of which their families were the legitimate owners. Estella (79, pp. 122-126) has reproduced a letter of the so-called king Atamu Te Kena, wherein the king gives the exact boundaries of his estate at Hanga-piko. In the same document are listed the names of forty persons who were the owners of Hanga-piko, Mataveri, and Rano-kao. As an example of the accuracy with which old boundaries were traced, I translate a part of Estella's document which was destroyed later with the archives, in a fire ignited by the natives themselves:

> . . . The line goes from Hanga-piko to the stone Taiaa, from there passing through the middle of the said stone it extends to the stone Mataoti where there is a house. From the middle of this house the boundary reaches the mountain of the Mata, where

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there is another house. . . The other line goes from the pool to the big stone, Huhaturupei. I tell you this clearly so that you may know the boundary; this is the stone. From there, looking to the east, it runs to the right to the point, Iarako. 423

With the intention of harming the English Company, Estella (79, pp. 114-119) tried to establish the property rights of the natives according to their claims. At the meetings arranged for that purpose, each native gave the boundaries of the land which would have been his under the old property-right system. If purported rights were to be recognized, all of the east part of the island called Hotu-iti would belong to the family of Tepano. When I asked about the property of his family, he mentioned no such rights and even boasted that he fooled Estella. However inaccurate it may be, Estella's census attempt shows that the districts of the island were once divided into fairly large portions which belonged to lineages, and that the hereditary land of a lineage was divided among households. Victoria Rapahango and Maria Ika who are of the Honga family are at present the theoretical owners of the land around the eastern part of Anakena Cove. Their land includes the ahu of Hotu-matua and the near-by hill. The ahu near the cave at Anakena Cove was the property of Simon Riroroko and Charli Teao. The statue, called Rahi, of ahu Tongariki marked the boundary between the lineage of the Vaimaho and that of the Vaikoveka. 423 613

Brothers lived together in the same house and to each was allotted a portion of the land when he married. All the people were supposed to have about the same amount of land to cultivate. Each estate was probably a straight strip of land (*kainga*) which stretched away from the shore toward the interior of the land. Shares owned by the different families were subject to changes from one generation to the next, depending upon the deaths and resultant inheritances. After the kidnapping of the Easter Islanders in 1862, the lands left vacant were claimed by the relatives of those abducted, and thus many quarrels arose among the contenders. 423

As in the rest of Polynesia, Easter Island children inherited from both their father and their mother. Many of the people who presented their claims to Estella founded their pretensions on the rights of mothers and even of aunts (probably father's sisters). Tepano's mother was married first to an *ariki* named Vaka. She bore him ten children and afterwards married Rano Vavara, Tepano's father. When Vaka died he left some land to her and her children. Tepano, as the only survivor of all of Viriamo's children, might claim as his own both Vaka's and his father's land. Only Charli Teao, who was a relative of Vaka, could demand some share of the latter's estate. In answer to my question as to the disposal of his estate after his death, Tepano told me that it would go to his wife and afterward to "his favorite son." 428

At present the Chilean government gives ten hectares (25 acres) of land to each man when he marries. 425

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JOINT PROPERTY

592 Roussel (190, p. 428) says that the fields were planted and the crops
●423 harvested in common by the members of a household or by the people living
241 at the same place [lineage]. The workers were rewarded with a feast (*hatu*), the size of which depended upon the extent of the land and the importance of the owner. The dimensions given by early voyagers for the dwelling houses suggest that several biological families, probably closely related, lived together.

Near the foundations of ancient houses are generally found chicken houses
235 of stone in which the fowls were kept during the night. It is impossible to
422 determine now what system of property was applied as regards poultry.
436 Hens undoubtedly had a great value and were used for exchange. Today fowls are personal property and every man identifies his hens by an ownership mark cut on the legs. I was unable to discover whether ownership marks were used in ancient times or adopted under Chilian influence.

431 Today everyone gives freely of his clothes and of cooking and tilling
476 implements. Between relatives there is a constant exchange of gifts con-
602 forming to patterns of reciprocity. Children are permitted to use anything they need from the houses of either their paternal or maternal relatives. During his first stay on the island, Eyraud was obliged by the natives to build a boat. They gathered wood from all over the island and everyone participated in the construction of the truly "national boat."

The few boats on Easter Island are joint property of all those who have
226 contributed to their building, either in work or in furnishing wood. One such
422 boat belongs to seven men, and each must give his permission before the
501 boat can be used. The joint owners of a boat fish together and divide their catch among their own families. If the canoe belongs to a single person, those who help him fish receive the least desirable fish, and the owner keeps the tuna fish.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

THIEVERY

674 The thievery of Easter Islanders has been stressed by all visitors and
577 their dishonesty has become as famous as their statues. Even when the Europeans avenged the small thefts by slaughtering the unarmed natives, the islanders continued to steal. They used the charms of their women to distract the seamen while they robbed them of their hats or handkerchiefs.

181 The thievery of the natives is not merely the result of uncontrolled desire
674 for many new and astonishing things. Their dishonesty appears innate and
577 systematic; they enjoy stealing the fruits they have given to their visitors as much as the theft of cloth or European articles. Their bartering with the white men is absolutely unscrupulous; they filled with stones the baskets

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411 171 in most Maori specimens. The ridging at the poll on some Easter Island clubs is the usual conventionalized representation of hair, characteristic also of wooden images. Hence the similarity to the transverse grooves on the poll of the Maori *patu* is purely accidental.

FISHING

226 It is impossible to get even an approximate idea of the importance of fishing in pre-missionary times. Fishhooks are found in great abundance in caves, carved fish are common in petroglyphs, and fishing episodes are numerous in folklore. But Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126) states that fish had an [262] insignificant place in the native diet and was considered a great delicacy. At the present time fishermen are few and go out only occasionally. Charli Teao is the only native I know for whom fishing has a special attraction and who derives benefits from this activity. While the *Mercator* was anchored in Hanga-roa Bay he supplied us with tuna which he traded for bread. Deep-sea fishing cannot be maintained on a profitable basis for there are only two boats on the island. Probably the lack of wood for building boats prevented extensive fishing in ancient times.

Numerous causes have contributed to the decline of fishing. The natives have had an ample supply of meat since the introduction of cattle and sheep. Moreover they have free access to only a small part of the coast. If they wish [423] to fish on the north or south coasts, where the coves and low shore are particularly favorable, they must obtain written permission from the Williamson and Balfour Company, and many natives are too shy to ask for it. Easter Island has no protecting coral reef, and in winter months the sea is too rough for the canoes to go far offshore. The fishing season begins at the end of October. The fishing near the island is not good. Ever since Captain Cook's time men have complained of the scarcity of fish.

136 226 [532] Fish are said to be most abundant between the islets of Motu-kaokao and Motu-nui. A stone image called Pou-haka-nononga of the Ahu-anakoiroroa was a landmark used by fishermen to find an area in the sea called Haka-no-nonga where tuna were plentiful. Other places in the deep sea which were traditionally favorable for fishing (*kona-ika-nui*) had proper names. Tuna were caught at points off the coast called Hatehate and Mitiake; the best area for the *ature* fish was at Haka-kainga and for *mahore* fish at Tuaniu. Shore fishing was mostly a feminine occupation, and according to legends was once practiced on a wide scale.

226 Fishermen were called *rava-ika*; expert fishermen were *maori* or *rava-ika-maa* (fishermen-with-knowledge). Canoe fishing was indulged in even by the king (p. 132). Geiseler (87, p. 37) noticed that next to weapons, fishing implements were the most valued artifacts.

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(*tapu-peera, rahui*). These tapu cairns vary in size, some being as much as 1.5 meters high and others consisting of a few stones piled up. (See 171, p. 174; 87, p. 28.) Now Easter Islanders connect the cairns with funerals, the only reason for a tapu that they clearly remember. That tapus were not associated with death alone is indicated by other customs and fears which have survived. Tapu beliefs are displayed in the precautions surrounding a child's head; in the belief that stomach aches are provoked by sexual intercourse with *ariki* women; and in the sacredness of spots where navel cords have been buried. Certain places on the island—among them the strip in front of the ahu—were considered tapu, and thus dangerous for people who stepped on them. According to Geiseler (87, p. 28) not only the statues and the ahu were tapu but the island of Motu-nui upon which no one was allowed to land except in the months of July, August, and September. Early visitors (90, p. 95; 83, vol. 1, p. 568) observed that the natives were sometimes displeased when they walked over the paved area of the ahu or on the pedestals of the statues, or even when they examined the stones of the monuments. However, the islanders must have thought that the foreigners were not subject to the same tapus as themselves and that they had nothing to fear from the gods, since they did not seriously attempt to keep them away from monuments.

The king (*ariki-mau*) was highly tapu because of his mana, and the bird-man, after being designated by the god Makemake, was considered tapu for a year and lived in seclusion. Several foods were prohibited to the king and other *ariki*, but other foods could be eaten by the common people only after they had been presented to the king (p. 132).

Both the words *rahui* and *tapu-peera* refer to temporary and arbitrary prohibitions laid on a piece of land by a chief or some influential proprietor. This measure prevented trespassing or reserved the produce of the land for the individual or for some special occasion. The sign of the *rahui* was a branch hung near the tapu place or a pile of stones erected on it. All crops were under a royal tapu until the first fruits were offered to the king in a ceremony before the harvest. Roussel (190, pp. 259, 428) writes: "Woe to the man who dared to violate the tapu. He payed for it with his goods and even with his life." Death inflicted by beating with a club was the penalty for such a crime. Routledge (194, p. 232) says that the spot marked by a tapu could not be approached in daylight. The owner of a piece of land on the coast could protect his rights to fish or collect mollusks on the shore along his estate by setting up a *rahui*. "This *rahui* consisted of three piled up stones on land contiguous to the portion of the sea he wanted to reserve for his own use" (190, p. 429).

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Islands of the Bird Cult

The picturesque site of Orongo was chosen because of its position opposite the islands Motu-nui, Motu-iti, and Motu-kaukau. Two of the islets are almost inaccessible, and it is possible to land on Motu-nui only when the sea is calm. Hundreds of thousands of birds make temporary abode on these solitary rocks, some of them coming for the winter and others for the summer. (See list of birds, p. 18.) The *manu-tara* (sooty tern), whose eggs were the principal objects of the *tangata-manu* feast, arrive from August to October. When I visited the island in November, it was covered with birds nesting on rocks and in the high grasses. Frightened by our arrival, they took flight, swirling around our heads in dense clouds. The natives who had accompanied us gathered in one hour more than a hundred eggs which they ate on the spot.

On Motu-nui there are several caves which were occupied by the *hopu* (servants) while they awaited the coming of the *manu-tara* and while they searched for the first eggs.

On the wall of the largest of these caves, which is about 6.5 meters long by 4 meters wide and 2 meters high, there is an incised image of an *ao* (dance paddle) which is 2.4 meters long. With Dr. Lavachery, I discovered another image which figures a *rei-miro* (breastplate) ending in two cocks' heads.

Besides this large cave, the entrance of which is visible, there are other smaller caves with narrow mouths. On the walls of one cave were some incised figures, among them that of a bird now in the Trocadero Museum. From the mouth of the bird protrudes a flame-like design, composed of many lines. This appears to be a conventional representation of the deafening cries of the birds. Another drawing, also taken from this cave and preserved in the Museum du Cinquantenaire at Brussels, shows a man with long ears.

The most spectacular of these caves is entered by a narrow passage descending at a sharp angle. Routledge (194, p. 275) saw five skeletons there, but I noticed only two; they were untouched and lying on a bed of boulders. Over them hung a big red head, carved in the hard mud of the ceiling, more than 500 mm. long and crossed in the lower part by horizontal lines. It resembled the god with big eyes figured in many petroglyphs on the island. Two small heads were seen in the same cave. A double-headed bird, carved in relief, had been partially destroyed by natives or by visitors hunting for curios. Fortunately another bird in the same cave was reproduced by Routledge (194, pl. 17). Neither Routledge nor anyone in our party was able to get information about the unusual presence of skeletons in this cave, which was probably not intended for a burial vault. The ornaments which covered its walls preclude such a possibility. These carvings are coated with red ochre and stand out from a white background which seemed to me to be natural, although Routledge believed it had been painted.

Another of the caves on the islet was believed by Routledge (194, p. 275) to have been transformed into a sepulchre, but the bones must have been thrown out, since I found none there. A statue presented to the British Museum by Routledge is said to have been removed from one of these caves and to have been called Titahanga-o-te-henua. It is purported to have marked the boundary between Tuu and Hotu-iti.

Mataveri

The third place closely associated with the ceremonies of the bird cult was Mataveri on the northern slope of Rano-kao, where now stands the house

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[563] 585 [177] great majority follow a formalized pattern. At the present time two Chilean-derived marriage ceremonies take place, a civil marriage on a Saturday and a Catholic church marriage on Sunday. However it is on Saturday, after the civil wedding, that the bridegroom's father gives a large feast for both of the extended families involved in the match. It is at this time that the gifts received by the bride's and bridegroom's fathers are formally distributed among their respective families. [583] To aid in this division of the spoils, a "secretary" is appointed to see that each relative receives a gift of value proportionate to the one he originally gave to the gift exchange. All my informants agreed that the marriage gift-exchange ceremony is a period of great and jovial rivalry to see which family has given the biggest and most valuable gifts.

On Sunday evening after the church wedding a general party for the couple is given, and it is at this time that the bridegroom sings a specially composed song [533] to his bride and she, in turn, sings her special song to him, each going to the other's house for the purpose. It is the best of these songs that have been maintained on Easter Island and today compose the more modern corpus of true Easter Island songs.

591 439 648 135 342 Upon the marriage of a young couple they are free to live in the home of either of their parents, or they may build a home of their own. Actually, living with one or another of the parents is a virtual necessity, owing to the fact that all building materials are brought from the continent once a year by the Chilean Navy and the supply has never caught up with the demand. Further hindering construction is the government's rationing system which, though abundantly fair, allows no single [596] family to buy in one year all the material needed to build a home. This system has resulted in the development, or maintenance, of an extended family pooling system in which, if the family is large enough and each draws his rightful ration of building materials, a house can often be built from the total extended family allotment for a single year. It might also be mentioned that in the construction of such a house, any, or all, of the extended family may be called upon for aid.

423 648 Although the building of a house is a problem, a young couple as yet has no difficulty in obtaining land. At the present time the Chilean government allots the use-rights to five hectarias of terrain to each newly married couple. Formerly an Easter Islander could own his land outright, but this is no longer true, the Chilean government retaining title to all land, owing, apparently, to the strategic nature of the island in the event of war.

606 One of the more interesting facets of Easter Island marriage is the position of the father-in-law in the life of the married couple. Of the two male parents-in-law, it is the girl's father who appears to hold the dominant position of power in the